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THE
NEGRO QUESTION
AND THE
I.O.G.T.

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DISQUISITION.

BY

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PRICE ONE PENNY.

TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD
TEMPLARS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

IN sorrow I dedicate this pamphlet to you. I have viewed with profound admiration the outburst of feeling which has shown itself in the Order in favour of the equal rights of man principle; but I have been deeply pained to see that this noble feeling should have become the occasion for precipitating a disruption in the Order with which we are connected, and of destroying its International character. This is the more to be regretted inasmuch as I believe the evidence of the case proves that this was altogether unnecessary, for, firstly, there was no justifiable cause for the disruption, and, secondly, had there been a cause, the matter would have been rectified had judicious steps been taken to that end. In proof of these statements, I submit for your consideration the present pamphlet. I quote no authorities but such as are official, I make no imputation of motives, and I endeavour to avoid personalities; and if there should be any language used which appears to the reader to be harsh or severe, my apology is, that fidelity to truth demanded it.

Claremont, Tottington,

Near Bury, December 6th, 1876.

THE NEGRO QUESTION REVIEWED.

THE references which have been made to my name during the last few weeks, and the expressions of astonishment which have been made use of by some parties at the course which I have taken, compel me to lay before the membership of the Order a *résumé* of the reasons which have influenced my own mind and driven me to the conclusions which I have formed. If they should not be sufficient to bring other minds to a like conclusion with myself, I can only say that it must arise from the diversified peculiarities of the human mind in the reception of the evidence presented to it.

The facts of the Negro question, when shorn of the mystifications of their surroundings, are very simple. They are as follows:—The Order of Good Templars is an institution which was established in America in 1851, for the reclamation of drunkards, and for securing the prohibition of the liquor traffic. It is founded upon the principle of the universal brotherhood of man. Its constitution declares this, and, so far as the law and practice of the R.W.G.L. is concerned, it has never given an uncertain sound. Even those who have seceded admit this, for in their ultimatum they say—

The *R.W.G.L.* has always recognised the equality of man, and has admitted Negroes as representatives, but it has hitherto failed to induce the Grand Lodges of some of the Southern States to accord a similar recognition.*

The reader will doubtless remember that until 1866—ten years ago—slavery was a legalised and established institution in the Southern States of America, the Negroes being held in bondage by the whites. Hence, as a matter of course, all the educational and social surroundings of the Southern white population, fostered the idea that they were intellectually and socially superior to the Negroes, and therefore they did not mix and work together in public, either in their religious or social life. Even after the war was over, and the slaves were emancipated, very much of this feeling remained behind. The liberation of the slaves did not eradicate the feeling of prejudice and social caste which had been imbibed during the days of slavery,

* See Ultimatum, page 6.

and hence it continued, and still continues, to have more or less influence upon the social arrangements and amenities of Southern society.

As might naturally be expected, an Order like that of the Good Templars could not fail to be greatly affected by the prevalence of such prejudices, for Good Templary is, perhaps, of all institutions, the one which comes most into conflict with ideas of caste. It obliges all to meet as on a common level, and hence, when the Order was introduced into these States, it was confined, with but few exceptions, to the white population.

That such a thing would happen will appear almost inevitable when we recollect the peculiar circumstances of the population, and also consider the democratic nature of Good Templar law, which gives to the existing Grand Lodges in any State or country the exclusive authority to mission the States or countries under their jurisdiction; and inasmuch as the executive authority was by the law of the Order thus obliged to be from within such States or countries, it must necessarily partake more or less of existing prejudices, and be subject to the prevailing influences. And indeed, even if the authority had been wielded from without, such authority would have been compelled to adapt its operations more or less to the prejudices and habits of the people whom it sought to benefit. The problem involved then was, how best to secure the extension of Good Templary and overcome the difficulties arising from these peculiar circumstances, without at the same time making any sacrifice of principle.

Now it will readily be seen, that with the autocratic power possessed by the Grand Lodges, and the R.W.G.L. having no power to interfere in the internal arrangements of Grand Lodge jurisdictions or to make up for their shortcomings, it is in no sense to blame for the exclusion of the Negroes in those States. The blame has rested not with the R.W.G.L. but with the Grand Lodges, and hence the fault-finding should have been with them and not with the R.W.G.L.

But it may perhaps here be said the R.W.G.L. is the supreme court, and that it is its duty to see that the constitution and laws of the Order are carried out by those over whom it exercises jurisdiction.

Now if this be admitted, it will yet be plain that unless a specific case of breach of law were brought before the R.W.G.L. it would be placed in circumstances where it would be difficult, if not utterly impossible, to take legal action and bring the offender to justice, for the simple reason that there would be nothing tangible before it. It is true there would be the general fact that the Negroes were not enrolled in the Order, but, in the absence of decisive evidence to the contrary, the question might be asked, Does this arise from the refusal of the whites to enrol the blacks, or from the refusal of the blacks to be enrolled? If the blacks wish to be enrolled, Why do they not apply? and if refused, then let their friends bring their case before the R.W.G.L.

Now, under the peculiar circumstances of this case, there were but two constitutional courses open for securing redress. The first

was, to have got a number of the Negro population thus to join together to form a lodge, apply for a charter, and, if refused, then apply to the R.W.G.L., which in such a case would have justifiable grounds for taking proceedings against the Grand Lodge which refused the charter.

If, however, the plan just named had not been deemed desirable, or if it were thought to be one beset with too many prospective difficulties, then the only feasible plan left was to seek to amend the constitution so as to deprive Grand Lodges of the supreme authority and power which they now enjoy in their several jurisdictions, and to make it lawful for the R.W.G.L. to step in, or to authorise others to step in, and enrol the people who are neglected by the Grand Lodges.

It was at the Madison Session of the R.W.G.L. in 1872 that the British representatives first came in contact with the Negro difficulty. It arose in this way: A memorial had been presented to the R.W.G.L. from Georgia and Alabama touching the formation of a separate Order for the Negroes. One proposal, among others, was that, instead of being called Good Templars, they should be called Coloured Templars. To this Mr. Malins moved the following amendment:—

Resolved—That this Right Worthy Grand Lodge confers upon all Grand Lodges requiring it the power to take steps to promote temperance among the coloured people, in such a manner as may be deemed best suited to their wants, to the extent, if necessary, of forming an especial organisation for their benefit, provided no part of the name or ritual of our Order be applied to any organisation other than our own.*

This resolution was not carried, but the principle of the thing was afterwards carried out by the establishment of the Order of True Reformers, which has been found to be of so much benefit to the Negro population.

There are two views which may be taken of this action:—

1. It may be regarded as proving a strong desire on the part of the Good Templars in the Southern States to make the best of the difficulties and prejudices by which they were beset; or,

2. It may be derisively styled “A kitchen Order,” and its institution may be ascribed to a desire to keep the Negroes out of the Order. Unless, however, there be overwhelming evidence to the contrary, in an Order like ours, where charity is the leading motto, the first of these views should be the one received, especially when it is so stated by themselves, and it is further confirmed by those who best know the States; but I begin to fear that very little of charity is left among us save the name.

In 1873 the R.W.G.L. met in London. At this session there was a petition presented purporting to be from ten coloured lodges in North Carolina, asking for a separate G.L. charter for the coloured population in that State.

The committee appointed to consider the memorial, among other things, reported as follows:—

We, having examined the constitution of the R.W.G.L., can find no authority to grant their request, but, on the contrary, the granting of a charter for a second Grand Lodge in any State is forbidden.†

* See R.W.G.L. Report for 1872, page 48. † See R.W.G.L. Report for 1873, page 92.

The prayer of these ten coloured lodges could not therefore be granted, because it was contrary to the constitution.

On the same day the following notice of amendment of the constitution was placed upon the books of the R.W.G.L., by Judge Black, the veteran Abolitionist, of Pennsylvania:—

To insert after the first sentence following the proviso of Section 3 of Article I. of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge, the following: "After the assent obtained, or upon petition of any Grand Lodge, charters for one or more Grand Lodges, or for one or more Subordinate Lodges, under the immediate jurisdiction of the R.W.G.L., may be granted, covering a part or the whole of the territory embraced by the charter of such existing Grand Lodge."*

This was the only proposition that was made at that session aiming to benefit the Negro.

The year following the R.W.G.L. met at Boston, and when Judge Black's amendment came on, Representative Bowen, of Wales, proposed the following as an amendment, which was carried:—

After the assent obtained, or upon petition of any Grand Lodge, charters for one or more Grand Lodges may be granted when difference of language is found to be an insuperable barrier to the transaction of business.†

This amendment, proposed by a British representative, it will be seen, whilst it opened the door for separate Grand Lodges for the population of Wales, kept the door shut against the Negroes, and hence they were left out as before.

To meet the case, which had thus been blocked again, I find that the following notices of amendment to the constitution were given, one by Dr. Wells Brown, a Negro, of Massachusetts, as follows:—

To so amend the R.W.G.L. constitution as to admit of more Grand Lodges than one in any jurisdiction where a difference of language necessitates it. The undersigned therefore gives notice of motion to amend the above section by inserting the words "or race" after the word "language."‡

I find that Judge Black's amendment, as given above, was also again placed upon the notice book.§

In 1875 the R.W.G.L. Session was held at Bloomington, when, by a vote of 66 ayes to 28 noes, the amendment of Judge Black was carried, and thus it was made possible to grant Grand Lodge charters to the Negroes in every State of the Union, and indeed, if needed, to every country or State throughout the world where they so desired it.

Upon the passing of this amendment Representatives Malins, of England, and Gladstone, of Scotland, doffed their regalia and resigned their offices, and along with the other British representatives, signed a protest against this amendment of Judge Black's. Whereupon, in order to pacify these brethren and induce them to return to their offices, the following motion was adopted:—

Resolved—That the R.W.G.T. and the R.W.G.S. be requested not to issue additional charters, during the ensuing year, to jurisdictions other than those of Maryland and North Carolina.¶

And thus, for another year, and solely owing to the determined opposition of the British representatives, in all the Southern States

* See R.W.G.L. Report for 1873, page 100. † See R.W.G.L. Report for 1874, page 70. ‡ See R.W.G.L. Report for 1874, page 112. § See R.W.G.L. Report for 1874, page 112. ¶ See R.W.G.L. Report for 1875, page 98.

except two, it was made illegal to grant a charter to the Negro Lodges in case they should apply.

Before passing away from the Bloomington Session I should like to direct the reader's attention to a paragraph in the ultimatum which was sent out by the British representatives. It will be found on page 4, and, referring to the resignations named above, proceeded to remark :—

These resignations resulted in bringing the R.W.G.L. face to face with the great issues involved, and the brethren referred to were only induced to reassume their offices on the R.W.G.L. agreeing to grant coloured Grand Lodge charters (if asked for by the Grand Lodges already formed) to the Negroes in North Carolina and Maryland ; and at the same time not to permit the multiplication of white Grand Lodges in States already working under Grand Lodge charters. These concessions, though embracing less than the British delegates wished, yet affirmed in some measure the principle for which they were contending.

The impression produced upon the reader's mind in perusing the above paragraph is, that the two brethren who doffed their regalia and resigned their offices, did it in their struggle for the enfranchisement of the Negroes of North Carolina and Maryland, and implying that this was not secured by Judge Black's amendment ; whereas the fact of the case was directly the opposite, for Judge Black's amendment not only opened the door for the enfranchisement of the Negroes of the two States of North Carolina and Maryland, but of all the other Southern States also, and indeed, of every State and country in the world where they desired it. The result of these resignations, therefore, of which they boast that they brought the R.W.G.L. face to face with the Negro question, was, that the door which had been opened to all the Negroes by Judge Black's amendment, was again closed, except in the two States of South Carolina and Maryland, their action also prevented duplicate Grand Lodges being granted to other countries, and thus the avowed champions and friends of the Negro became the defeaters of the motion which would have contributed largely to his chance of enfranchisement.

And now, having come to the end of the Bloomington Session of the R.W.G.L., and as the next act in this strange drama is the issue of the ultimatum threatening secession, it may be well just to review the position of matters up to this point, and see what the British representatives had really done to rectify the Negro difficulty, and also what, viewing the matter in the light of practical legislation, they might and *ought* to have done, had they been working for the welfare of the Negro.

1. At the Madison Session they did nothing, except that Mr. Malins proposed a resolution which, had it been adopted, would in effect have created an Order driving the Negro population as far as possible from the Order of Good Templars.

2. At the London Session they did nothing.

3. At the Boston Session they moved an amendment to the amendment which Judge Black had moved with the intention to relieve the Negroes, and thus blocked the way of help being granted to them for another year.

4. At the Bloomington Session again they proposed nothing, but when, at this session, Judge Black's amendment was carried, Messrs. Malins and Gladstone resigned office, and only reassumed it upon the promise that Judge Black's amendment should be restricted in its operations for the ensuing year to the Negro populations of Maryland and North Carolina.

At this session, however, although they proposed nothing for the benefit of the Negro, yet the English representatives did put a notice of motion upon the books of the R.W.G.L. What was it? It read as follows:—

* We give notice to rescind the alteration made at this session referring to multiplication of Grand Lodges.

JOSEPH MALINS, England, &c., &c.

How comes it that there is all this concern for the Negro, and yet, prior to their ultimatum, they offer no motion to help him, for it is a fact which is attested by the records of the R.W.G.L., that the British representatives never made any proposition at all calculated—or, so far as I can see, *intended*—to remedy the Negro difficulty. Possibly they may have made speeches dilating upon the question; but words, of themselves, are mere wind. To accomplish reforms, actions are needed. I ask What proposition did they submit, or what action did they take, to help the Negro before sending out their ultimatum? The answer is, “None! None whatever!”

What is it then, that as practical men, they should have done? In the first place they should have got some Negro friend to form a number of the Negroes into lodges; and, having done this, then got them to apply for a charter, and if the Grand Lodge had refused to give them one, they might then have brought the case before the R.W.G.L. In this way a concrete case would have been before the R.W.G.L., and the transgressors might have been legally dealt with.

On the other hand, if they had been at all fearful that the judicial power possessed by the R.W.G.L. was not sufficient to enable them to deal with the offenders, then they might have taken another course, which possibly might have been the more satisfactory and efficacious one. They might have moved an addition to Judge Black's resolution, something as follows:—

Nevertheless, in the case where any G.L. neglects or refuses to mission any portion of the population under its jurisdiction, it shall be lawful for the R.W.G.L., upon giving twelve months' notice to such G.L., to consider the said population as residing in unoccupied territory, and to make such arrangements for missioning the same as may seem to it the most appropriate.

Action of this kind would have had some practical purpose. It would have brought the matter to a crisis, and would have brought the R.W.G.L. face to face with the question, and, if it had refused to do its duty, it would then have had thrown upon itself the *onus* of guilt; but, as it is, the R.W.G.L. is no more to be blamed in the matter than is Mr. Malins himself; nay, it is less, for it did pass a partial remedy, whereas he resolutely opposed it.

When I first heard of the Negro question, and heard the talk of the difficulty there was in getting redress for the Negro, I came to the conclusion that every possible effort must have been made to secure them redress, but without success. I thought that for years the Britishers must have been fighting the question and been always defeated, and that there was nothing left for them but either to secede or become participators with the R.W.G. Lodge in the wickedness of excluding the Negro from the Order. The reader will therefore judge of my profound astonishment when I learned, first, that the R.W.G.L. was not the party which excluded the Negroes, but some of the Southern Grand Lodges; and, secondly, that I could find no record of any direct effort that the British representatives had ever made, either to bring the offending Grand Lodges to justice, or to propose such amendments to the constitution as would give the R.W.G.L. power to deal with the said Grand Lodges, or if needed, to mission the Negroes in districts where Grand Lodges neglected their duty; but, on the other hand, I found that on two occasions the British representatives had blocked the way of efforts on behalf of the Negro.

I will now resume the narrative which I left off at the close of the Bloomington Session, which ended May 28th, 1875.

It could not have been many weeks after the close of this session before the British representatives must have been in conclave drafting the ultimatum which has been such a source of discord to the Order, and, I will venture to say, such an uncalled for, unconstitutional, and disloyal attempt to secure an end, has not a parallel in the history of the Temperance movement.

The document is dated January 1st, 1876, and is a long one, but for my present purpose I only need give the following paragraph:—

Where a G.L. only offers the I.O.G.T. to the "whites" the R.W.G.L. shall be authorised to send missionaries to organise lodges of coloured people in the same jurisdiction, with a view to eventually form duplicate Grand Lodges for such coloured people with equal powers and representation in R.W.G.L. as the white Grand Lodges have, the territory occupied by such white Grand Lodges being considered (so far as the Negroes are concerned) as unoccupied territory, and any G.L. may mission the Negroes for the R.W.G.L. as Grand Lodges now do in newly-occupied countries.*

The subject had been brought before the English Grand Lodge which met in London in July of the previous year, when the following resolution was carried:—

Resolved--That this G.L., having heard with deepest interest the statements of the G.W.C.T. and its other representatives to the R.W.G.L., affirms that the brotherhood of man is one of the fundamental principles upon which this Order is based, and instructs the G.L. Executive to take such steps as in its wisdom may seem necessary to secure the recognition of this principle throughout the whole jurisdiction of the Order, or to release this G.L. from all participation in the wickedness of a violation of this principle.

The manifesto which was adopted by the United Executives, and issued on the 1st of January, 1876, appears to have been laid before the Grand Lodge which met at Newcastle from the 18th to 21st of April following, when the following resolution was passed:—

That this Grand Lodge resolves to record its high appreciation of the earnestness, wisdom, and courage with which its representatives to the R.W.G.L. have striven for

* In Ultimatum, page 6.

the rights of man, irrespective of colour; declares that the true brotherhood of the race is one of the fundamental principles of the Order, which cannot be violated without committing a grievous wrong against the highest and most sacred interests of humanity; and hereby instructs its representatives to the R.W.G.L. to support the proposals embodied in the manifesto of the United Executives of the Grand Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland.

I dare say the reader will have noticed that much blame has been attached to the British representatives for seceding, and that then, in justification of their action, it has been said, "But they had no alternative, they only carried out the instructions they got from the English Grand Lodge." I fail myself to see any such instructions in the resolutions which I have quoted above.

The first resolution says, "That the Executive are to take such steps as in their wisdom may seem necessary to secure the recognition of the principle throughout the whole jurisdiction of the Order." This instruction is the guiding principle of the whole transaction, whilst the Newcastle resolution simply endorses the thing on the supposition that it is carried out in the spirit of the London resolution.

But, it may perhaps be asked, did not the ultimatum which was endorsed by the Grand Lodge at Newcastle contain instructions to the effect that if the demands of the British representatives were not acceded to at Louisville, they should separate themselves from that body. I will give the paragraphs referred to, and then make some comments upon them.

Recognising, as our Grand Lodges do, the claims of humanity to be above all claims of prejudices of sect, country, or colour, we hereby call for the affirmation by the R.W.G.L. of this principle of the equal rights of man, and for immediate action on such affirmation to be unmistakably made at the next Session of that body.*

And we further propose to communicate with all other Grand Lodges on this subject, in the belief that the entire membership of the Order will stand by the same principle.

Should the R.W.G.L. accede to this principle, our Grand Lodges will remain in connection with that body as heretofore.

Should it not unmistakably accede at its next Session, our Grand Lodges will sever themselves from those jurisdictions which violate the above principle; while those Grand Lodges affirming it will be invited to federate themselves in a provisional international court analogous to the present R.W.G.L. Such new body will be asked to dispatch missionaries to the Southern States to organise Sub and Grand Lodges among the coloured people, and among any whites who may favour the action taken.

Now I ask the reader to examine carefully the wording of the preceding paragraphs taken from the ultimatum.

The first one "*Calls for the affirmation by the R.W.G.L. of the principle of the equal rights of man;*" but in the very same page, in another paragraph, the ultimatum says:—"The R.W.G.L. has always recognised the equality of man." It then goes on to say a little further down,—"*Should the R.W.G.L. accede to this principle, our Grand Lodges will remain in connection with that body as heretofore.*"

Now, the R.W.G.L. had always *acceded to the principle of the rights of man*, and therefore they ought to have *remained as heretofore*. But they acted contrary to their instructions.

* There is a notice of motion on the Journal which will enable the R.W.G.L. at next Session to amend its constitution, so as to admit of duplicate Grand Lodges for coloured people, if so desired.

But, then, it may be said, does not the first one talk of immediate action being taken? Yes, if certain conditions are not fulfilled; but they were fulfilled, therefore the action should have fallen to the ground.

But, admitting that action was to be taken, against whom was the action to be taken? The paragraph says that they will sever themselves from "*those jurisdictions which violate the above principles.*" But the R.W.G.L. is only one jurisdiction; hence the language conveys the impression that this secession action, if carried out, was not to be taken against the R.W.G.L., but against some other jurisdictions; this could only refer to the Grand Lodges who refused to admit the Negro. If space permitted, I might refer to other points that need explanation in connexion with this remarkable document.

Now I venture to say that 99 out of every 100 of the representatives who voted at Newcastle for the above resolution would say that such a step as secession, or even the threat of secession, was a most unwise one, until every other possible effort had been made to effect the object desired. But what effort had been made? What formal proposition had ever been submitted to the R.W.G.L. by the British representatives prior to this ultimatum that had the semblance of attempting to remedy the Negro difficulty? None whatever that I can find! They never did anything to concert measures to remedy the evil, and therefore they were disloyal to their instructions.

But this was not the worst of the case, for the British representatives actually altered the terms of their ultimatum, and they did this in such a manner as to involve a fundamental change in the constitution of the R.W.G.L., and in such a manner as to make the thing as offensive as possible to the Southern States.

In order that the reader may see the difference of the two propositions, I give them together, viz., the one which was placed before the members at G.L., and the one which was submitted to the R.W.G.L., but which, in its altered form, had never come before the members at all. The following is the one from the ultimatum:—

Where a G.L. only offers the I.O.G.T. to the whites, the R.W.G.L. shall be authorised to send missionaries to organise lodges of coloured people in the same jurisdiction, with a view to eventually form duplicate Grand Lodges for such coloured people, with equal powers and representation in the R.W.G.L. as the white G.L.'s have, the territory occupied by such G.L.'s being considered (so far as the Negroes are concerned) as unoccupied territory; and any G.L. may mission the Negroes for the R.W.G. Lodge as Grand Lodges now do in newly-occupied countries.*

The following is the one they presented to the R.W.G.L.:—

To strike out from R.W.G. Lodge constitution, Art. I., Sec. 3, the words commencing with "except" and ending with "business," and insert the following in their place: "Except that in any Grand Lodge territory where difference of language or race preclude united working, a duplicate Grand Lodge charter may be granted, covering the same territory, and having jurisdiction over all subordinate lodges of the language or race for which it is granted; and in any case where a Grand Lodge excludes persons from membership owing to language or race its jurisdiction shall, so far as the excluded community is concerned, be considered unoccupied territory, and the R.W.G. Lodge, OR ANY GRAND LODGE may mission such portions till they have sufficient subordinate lodges to receive a duplicate Grand Lodge charter, with co-equal powers with the senior Grand Lodge in that territory."†

* See Ultimatum, page 6. † See R.W.G.L. Report for 1876, page 80.

On comparing the above resolutions it will be seen that the sentence "and any Grand Lodge may mission the Negroes for the R.W.G. Lodge" is altered so as to read as follows: and the R.W.G. Lodge, OR ANY GRAND LODGE may mission such portions," &c.

Now this alteration of the document which was laid before the English Grand Lodge was a very serious one, for, in the first place, it involved a fundamental and most mischievous change in the constitution, for it gave to one Grand Lodge power to invade and intermeddle within the jurisdiction of another Grand Lodge, and that, too, irrespective of the authority of the R.W.G.L., thus destroying the authority of the supreme head, and introducing a principle that could only lead to anarchy and ill-feeling.

But again, the alteration proposed was one that came into direct collision with the American doctrine of State rights, and one likely to wound the Americans in their most tender part. Indeed, this fact, coupled with the thorough unconstitutionality of the proposition, made it utterly impossible that the R.W.G.L. could accede to it; and if the British representatives had been aiming to make it as unpalatable to the South as they possibly could, and impossible for the R.W.G.L. to adopt it, they could not have proposed anything which could more effectually have done so than the resolution they submitted.

And let the reader mark another point. Mr. Gladstone's resolution, being so thoroughly unconstitutional, was therefore out of court, for it proposed a fundamental change in the constitution; and, according to the laws of the R.W.G.L., before any such change can be considered by the R.W.G.L., there must be twelve months' notice given of it. Where was the notice? There never was any notice given touching the Negro question, and therefore the resolution of Mr. Gladstone was entirely out of order. Mr. Malins, in his London speech, tries to make it out to have been constitutional, because he says it would have been a violation of duty for Col. Hickman to have entertained it had it not been so. But the fact is, that this was pointed out to Col. Hickman at the time, when he, as a matter of favour towards the British representatives, allowed the thing to go on, and now it is made an argument against him.

But, perhaps, the reader will say, did not Mr. Malins give notice of a motion? He did; but what was it? I have given it once, but I will give it again. It was as follows:—

We give notice to rescind the alteration made at this session referring to multiplication of Grand Lodges.

And here I would observe that Mr. Gladstone's motion, whilst purporting to be an amendment, was really no amendment of this motion, for it introduced a different question altogether, and on this ground ought to have been ruled out of court, and would have been so but for the great leniency and favour shown them by the R.W.G.T. Col. Hickman; and now they plead his leniency as an argument for themselves being in the right.

How, then, did they manage to get their motion before the R.W.G.L.? They got one of their friends, Representative Dennis, of

Nova Scotia, to move the resolution of which Mr. Malins had given notice the previous year touching the multiplication of Grand Lodges, and then Mr. Gladstone moved as an amendment the declaration which should have been a literal transcript from the ultimatum, but which had been altered so as to be virtually different; and by this manœuvre of getting Representative Dennis to move their proposition, and then themselves moving their new amendment upon their old motion, they got their proposition before the R.W.G.L.

Now here I want the reader's careful attention. I have shown what the original proposition contained in the ultimatum was, and which was the only one submitted to the Grand Lodges. I have shown also how that proposition was altered in such a manner as to do violence to the constitution, and so as to make it as offensive as possible to the Southern States; and yet, when this altered proposition was rejected, Mr. Malins, on behalf of the British representatives, read a declaration, the concluding paragraph of which runs as follows:—

We, the whole of the representatives present from the above-named Grand Lodges, do, in accordance with the explicit and positive instructions of the said Grand Lodges, hereby withdraw, and request that this their declaration be inserted in the journal of this session.*

I wish the reader here to refer back to the resolution of instructions adopted by the Grand Lodge; if they do, they will find nothing to justify the "explicit and positive" declaration just given.

The instructions were, that they were to take steps to secure the recognition of the principle of universal brotherhood. Did they take any such steps? Had they ever taken such steps? Never!! As I have said, I cannot find in the R.W.G.L. journals the record of one single proposition that they ever made before presenting their ultimatum that had any tendency to benefit the Negro; but the records do prove that they did on two occasions block the way of proposals made by others for this end.

But the delegates who met in Grand Lodge Session at London and Newcastle had no conception of this. Like myself, they had an impression that the British representatives had been battling for this principle for years, and that they had always been foiled in their efforts by the R.W.G.L., and that there was no help for it but this ultimatum, whereas it was just the opposite, it was the Britishers who had foiled the R.W.G.L.; it was *they* who had been the opponents of proposals to benefit the Negro. Do they say it was the Dual lodge question that induced them to oppose these measures? Then it proves that they thought more of opposing Duplicate G. Lodges than of helping the Negro. If it was not this, what was it?

Again, the members who met in Grand Lodge Session at Newcastle never saw the document which was submitted to the R.W.G.L. by Mr. Gladstone, for after submitting a document containing certain proposals to the Grand Lodge, they altered it, and the alterations were fundamental and such as made it extremely offensive, and yet they

* See R.W.G.L. Report, 1876, page 94.

got up and read a declaration that they had received "positive instructions" to withdraw if the document were not accepted; whereas on the altered points, which were the objectionable ones, they had received no instructions whatever. The members did not even know of the alterations, and I don't think that many of them will know of them before they read this.

Now, had the original proposition which was submitted to the membership been adhered to, there is every probability that the matter would have been arranged. The following from the lips of the two highest living Americans in the R.W.G.L. proves this. The first is taken from a report of the Hon. S. D. Hasting, which was presented to the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin:—

Had they consented to strike out these four words, *or any Grand Lodge*, which would have eliminated from it a feature that was really a radical change in the fundamental principles of the organisation—a feature to which a large majority of the body were strongly opposed, to wit, giving the right of one Grand Lodge to invade the territory of another Grand Lodge—there is but little doubt their amendment would have been adopted with but little or no opposition, so far as the amendment affected the admission of the Negro to the Order.

The next extract I will give is from a speech at Liverpool of Colonel Hickman, R.W.G.T., referring to the discussion at Louisville, he said:—

Whilst this discussion was going on I said to Bros. Gladstone and Malins, "If that unconstitutional part of your motion was taken out—that part permitting one Grand Lodge to invade the territory of another Grand Lodge—and we adopt the remainder, will it give you satisfaction?" But the reply was, "Not one single solitary sentence or letter shall come out." The R.W.G.L. could not pass it then, except in violation of her own laws. I said in addition to Bro. Malins: "You are aware I know the Southern people. If you will let this lie over for another year I will pledge you my word that I will use my utmost influence to bring the Southern Grand Lodges in accordance with all you ask." He replied: "No, sir, it must be now! Why, we cannot hold our sub. lodges!"

Now, here we have Messrs. Gladstone and Malins asserting that they could not take out a single letter*—that they must have it all, or they would lose their sub. lodges. The fact was the lodges did not know that this part was in! The offensive and unconstitutional parts had been interpolated after the document had left the Grand Lodges, and I am compelled by the evidence before me to say, that all the present difficulty arises from this improper alteration of the document by the British officials. How, in the name of reason, could they say that they had received "positive instructions" in regard to a document, portions of which neither the membership nor the Grand Lodge had ever seen? And these interpolated portions are what have brought us into all the present mischief. The membership and the public will needs require an explanation of this remarkable conduct.

It was on Thursday, the 25th of May, 1876, that the British representatives, along with those who sided with them, left the R.W.G.L. They spent the remainder of that day, as well as Friday, the 26th, in canvassing about the R.W.G.L.; on the Saturday they adjourned to the Masonic Temple in the same town of Louisville,

* Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to the writer says, that the expression he used was that they would not abate one jot of the demand.

and proceeded to form themselves into a new R.W.G.L., and to elect officers, the Rev. J. Yeames being chosen as R.W.G.T. of the new Order, and Mr. Malins as R.W.G.S. On the 27th, a deputation was sent from the R.W.G.L. from which they had seceded, comprising Col. Hickman, Dr. Oronhyatekha, and Sister Amanda Way. They went to the Masonic Temple and asked for an interview; a recess was declared, and they were admitted, when they presented the following document:—

Resolved by the R.W.G. Lodge that Bro. J. J. Hickman, R.W.G.T., Dr. Oronhyatekha, and Sister Amanda Way, be appointed by this body a committee to immediately wait on the disaffected portion of this body with the declaration of principles adopted yesterday, and invite them to return to seats in this R.W.G.L., and thus restore the harmony of this great international Order.—Unanimously adopted.*

In reply to the above the following communication was sent—it was moved by Rev. G. Gladstone, G.W.C.T. (Scotland), seconded by Rev. James Yeames, and unanimously carried:—

That we, the members of this Convention, whilst sincerely anxious to hear any communication our friends may have to make, do not recognise the deputation now before us as coming from the R.W.G.L. of the I.O.G.T., and return to them the document they present, and in which we are erroneously described as the disaffected portion of the R.W.G.L.†

Let the reader try to picture the scene in his own mind. A minority of the members of the R.W.G.L., probably representing about a third of the Order, introduce a notice of motion; they do this in an unconstitutional and insulting way, and because they are defeated, they secede; the R.W.G.L. sends a deputation to them, which deputation they refuse to recognise, and return them their document on the ground that they describe themselves as being a deputation from the R.W.G.L., whereas they, the seceding section, though only a minority, claim to be the R.W.G.L.!

I can just conceive it possible that circumstances might exist which would render secession justifiable. If, for instance, the R.W.G.L. had deserted its fundamental principles, and every possible effort had been made to obtain redress, but without success, then secession might not only be justifiable, but a duty. In the present case, however, neither of these factors existed. The R.W.G.L. is not accused of deserting its principles, and those who seceded cannot plead that they have exhausted every effort to get redress; for, as I have shown, prior to their ultimatum, they never made any definite proposal to secure redress, and they have therefore no plea whatever to allege in defence of their haste in this matter.

Again, the hurried way in which the arrangements were made to invade the Southern States by sending out Mr. Parsons to mission the Negroes and to form Good Templar lodges, was very indiscreet. When I heard of it I involuntarily ejaculated, "What, are they going to make it impossible that we can have reunion? What need of all this haste?" In many, if not indeed in all the Southern States, they are ahead of us in temperance work. Our Order here, too, is burdened with debt, and we want to heal, not to probe more deeply, the wound that has been made. Why, then, this hurry? Why this

* See *Watchword* for June 28th, 1876, page 426.

† See Ditto.

unwarrantable precipitancy of action? Why did they not try to help the Negro before they issued their ultimatum? And why should they now make their action as offensive as possible to their Southern brethren? for, I said to myself, what is wanted is, not a brotherhood in name merely, but one in feeling and spirit also.

But further, the language they have used both in speaking and in writing of our American friends and of those who have co-operated with them, has been as far from brotherly as it well-nigh could be—nay, it has been grossly slanderous.

When there is a desire to promote reunion with anyone, the last thing that should be done, should be to blackball the parties with whom you are wishful to reunite. Indeed, whether reunion be desired or not, such imputations of motives and such blackballing of character ought not to be indulged in. Parties who do this will generally do well to examine their own motives, for they are naturally sometimes apt to measure other people by their own standard, or, as we say in Lancashire, “Measure a peck awt o’ their own seek.”

Col. Hickman, in his address at the London Conference, referred to the charges which had been made against the officers of the R.W.G.L. by some of the British representatives, and, looking across the table in the direction they sat, he said :—

You have never tried in any legal way to show us that we have not carried out the law, and I thought whilst Bro. Malins and myself were closely connected in working for the Order, if he had said one word about the failure to carry out the law, he would have said that word to me. . . . Now, in the two reports which Bro. Malins, as Counsellor, made to the R.W.G.L., in giving an account of the work done by himself and his deputies, not one time did he complain that there was a violation of the laws of the Order. The first intimation we had of the matter—although I never received it—was that manifesto. I was perfectly astonished when I saw it.*

Now, one would naturally have expected that when a document was drafted in the manner in which the ultimatum was, as an indictment against the R.W.G.L. and its officials, the first person to whom it would have been sent would have been the chief of the Order, or else the legal adviser of the order, the R.W.G. Counsellor. Who was that legal adviser? It was Mr. Malins himself. He was put in power to defend the laws of the Order, to see that they were carried out, and also to see that they were in harmony with the principles of the Order. He of all men in the Order, being the R.W.G. Counsellor, should have seen to these points. For two years preceding the secession, Mr. Malins acted as R.W.G. Counsellor, and was thus in a sense the Watch-dog of the Order; but, instead of defending the Order he was appointed to watch, he joins with others to rend it asunder, and he does this without having made one direct attempt to remedy the evil complained of.

I have referred to the personal slanders, insinuations, &c., which, since the secession, have been so freely indulged in touching our American friends and others; and I know that the effect upon many minds has been, as it was upon my own, to cause the membership to look upon Col. Hickman and his associates as men not to be trusted.

* See London Conference Report, page 72.

What a strange contrast there is between their recent action in this respect, and their action at the Bloomington Session of the R.W.G.L. in 1875, when Col. Hickman was re-elected to the office of R.W.G.T., and was presented with a superb Bible. The presentation was made by Mr. Gladstone, and is thus recorded in the R.W.G.L. Journal :

The Rev. Geo. Gladstone, at the close of the installation, addressed the R.W.G.T. in a short but beautiful speech, and presented him with a superb Bible, as a birth-day gift and token of gratification on his re-election as R.W.G.T.†

The Journal goes on to say :—

The R.W.G. Templar replied in a touching address, full of feeling and appreciation.

Now there is hardly another man in the States whose character stands so high as does that of Col. Hickman's, and I must ask his pardon for making this reference to him. There is not a man who has done more for the cause of temperance in Kentucky and the South generally. It is true he has not enrolled the Negroes into Good Templar lodges, but, believing the difficulties of the situation were so great as to make it impossible for the time successfully to do this, he did not yet leave the Negroes to perish. He did the best thing he could, he got them to become teetotallers, and to unite themselves in an order that in three years has enrolled over 40,000 members, and which has proved itself a mighty instrument for good, especially in Kentucky; for in that State they have carried a local option law, and the Whites and the Negroes have gone from their several organisations to the polling booth, and in, I believe, over 450 municipalities, have swept the grog shops away; and yet we are sending missionaries to enlighten these. Have we not more need of our missionaries at home?

And this is the man who, in the *Watchword*, has been characterised as a "*designing trickster, whose very presence was fraught with moral taint and contamination.*" What fearful language this is. I dare not trust my pen to criticise it. How inexplicable this conduct looks in the light of the Bloomington presentation.

At the Bloomington Session there was another presentation, it was one made to Mr. Malins. The record in the R.W.G.L. Journal says :—

Representative Whittier, of Alabama, then claimed the attention of the R.W.G.L., and addressing the R.W.G.C., Joseph Malins, in a choice and elaborate speech, he presented that officer, on behalf of the R.W.G.L., with a beautiful copy of the Bible, suitably inscribed.

The Journal remarks—

R.W.G. Counsellor Malins accepted the gift in terms of deep appreciation, making a lengthy address on the allegiance due to the Order, its ceremonies, laws, and usages.

What a remarkable address this must have been, considering all the surroundings, for it was only the day before that Mr. Malins, in company with Mr. Gladstone, had resigned his office because the vote of the R.W.G.L. was not agreeable to him upon the dual lodge question, and within a few months after, he, with the other British

† See R.W.G.L. Journal for 1873, page 63.

representatives, must have been in conclave drafting the manifesto which was based on *secession*. Would that the Bloomington speaker had been a man of deeds like unto his words! We should then have been saved all the present trouble and mischief.

The Louisville Session of the R.W.G.L., which has met this year, witnessed another presentation, it was a gold-headed walking-cane, given by the British representatives to Tim Needham, as a token of their respect for his character. Now, if I am correctly informed, Tim Needham is recognised as the leader of the party representing the South. The question therefore presents itself again to my mind,—How is it that at Louisville “Honest Tim Needham,” as he is called, was considered worthy of this tribute of respect, and now is classed among “*designing tricksters?*” What has he done in the meantime?

The reader will at once see the appositeness of my references to these matters, if he only reflects for a moment to what extent personalities have been dragged into the controversy by our British friends. All manner of statements have been indulged in in regard to our American brethren, and they have been so persistently circulated as to produce in many minds the feeling, that even if the R.W.G.L. were not in fault, our American friends are so unworthy of our confidence, as to be unfit for our association. This feeling is given painful expression to in one of the leaders of the *Watchword* the week following the London Conference, when the editor says:—

We were never more thankful for anything than that we personally, and the powerful Order of Good Templars throughout the world, have escaped the meshes of such designing tricksters. Never again till they have given signs of repentance will our hands cross theirs. We regard their very presence as fraught with moral taint and contamination. Separation from them is the greatest blessing that can happen to our cause.

It is impossible to read such language without a blush of shame coming to the cheek. To me it is inexplicable, except upon the lawyer's hypothesis, that if you cannot rebut the plaintiff's case, you must abuse his counsel; but a cause that either needs or uses such unholy weapons stands self-convicted.

What the British friends should have done should have been to have co-operated with the Northern Abolitionists in the R.W.G.L. in correcting the Negro difficulty. Instead of doing this, however, they spite the R.W.G.L., separate themselves from life-long abolitionists and friends of human equality, and split the Order in pieces. Why did they not first try to alter the law and bring Grand Lodges up to their duty, or propose an alteration in the law, so as to bring the neglected populations under the control of the R.W.G.L.? This was the vital work of the hour. Why was it neglected.

And here I cannot but enter my most emphatic protest against the claim which is being set up by the secessionists to a monopoly of sympathy for the Negro, and for the principle of human brotherhood; and I do also with equal emphasis protest against the efforts they are making both in the press, in public speeches, and in their communications with the lodges, to make it appear that the issue between

us is one of sympathy, or non-sympathy for the Negro, and for the principles of human brotherhood. Those of us who differ from the secessionists' claim to be as much the friend of the Negro as themselves, and we will not yield to them one jot in our zeal for the cause of human brotherhood. The question at issue between us, is not one as to the rights of the Negro, but as to the best way of accomplishing the common object we have at heart, which is this, to overcome the prejudices of race, to lift the Negro up to the same level in our Order as the whites in those Southern States where he has not been enrolled, and by this means secure the mingling of the races, and extend the principle of human brotherhood in a manner that will ensure its adoption in a spirit of amity among all classes of the community.

It is because we are thus concerned for the cause of the Negro, and for this principle of human brotherhood, that we have taken the action we have. We are strongly of opinion that the action the secessionists have taken, is calculated to impede this desired end, and that it will block the way of that real union which is so desirable, and whilst we allege no imputation against their motives, we firmly believe that they are damaging the cause they have espoused, besides doing incalculable mischief to the cause of temperance and social progress.

In this agitation a great many of the members of the Order have got the idea that our English friends are contending to secure for the Negro admission into the white lodges; but they never contemplated this. When they met in the Masoric Hall, at Louisville, after seceding, they adopted the following resolution dealing with the Negro difficulty (See *Watchword*, June 30th, 1876, p. 423):—

No more than one Grand Lodge shall be chartered in any state, district, or territory, except that in any Grand Lodge territory where difference of language or race preclude united working, a duplicate Grand Lodge charter may be granted, covering the same territory, and having jurisdiction over all subordinate lodges of the language or race for which it is granted, &c.

Now what I wish here to point out is this, that one of the first things which those who seceded did, was to pass a law, making provision—what for? Not that the Negroes shall meet in the same lodges with their white brethren; no, but that they shall have a separate organisation of their own. In doing this they give up the whole case. They themselves recoil from enforcing the equal rights principle in its entirety, and become expediency people. Now I am not blaming them for this. They acted as wise men, only I say that in doing this they concede the whole case, for if you make concessions to prejudice or race at all, it then becomes a matter of opinion only, as to the extent of the concession which ought to be made; and this might teach us a lesson not to be so overbearing or dogmatic in our dealings with people when difficulties of this kind stand in the way. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak," and not altogether "to please ourselves."

Our good friends in England, who are so zealous on behalf of the Negro, may perhaps form some idea of the irritation which their action is likely to cause in the South, if they will only measure the

feeling in their own breasts towards Colonel Hickman, whom they style an invader, and whom they have treated in a way that is anything but creditable to themselves or to the cause. But Colonel Hickman's position gives him authority to come into this country; nay, I would say, compels him to do so, for he is the responsible head of the Order; and if he is faithful to his charge he must try to preserve the lodges under his care from being drawn away. But Mr. Parsons has no authority whatever, and hence the existing feeling will probably be all the more intensified.

Before concluding, I wish to say a word or two touching my own conduct, and also touching the action of Mr. Malins, and those who are in authority with him.

In the month of July last, at the Conference of the British Temperance League, along with Dr. Lees and others I signed a memorial to the United Executives, asking them to call a Grand Lodge Session. In response to that I was somewhat curtly told that it would be better for the Order if we would leave the matter alone. I did so, and until the London Conference, about fifteen weeks after, I said nothing and did nothing further except when I could find time I read the *Watchword* and *Templar*. I did not up to that time exchange ten words upon the subject, either in writing or speaking, with Colonel Hickman, Mr. Barton, Dr. Lees, or Mr. Raper; nevertheless, my mind week by week became more impressed with the view that our British leaders had made a great mistake.

If I had previously had any doubts upon the subject they were fully dispelled at the London Conference, and when I afterwards saw the amount of abuse and obloquy that was being poured upon the friends from America, and all who ventured to side with them, I felt it would be criminal in me were I to remain passive longer; I felt that I should be unworthy of myself if I did not join these people whom I believed to be battling for the right, and share with them some of the obloquy consequent upon standing up for the truth; and for doing this I have been excluded the Order.

From the first my strong determination was to keep out of the dispute, although from what I read I could not but feel that the British Grand Lodge Executives had acted unwisely; yet my intention was to maintain my connection with the English Order, presided over by Mr. Malins, and also to continue my allegiance to the American R.W.G.L.; and I was in hopes that by-and-by more light would dawn upon one side or the other, and that, with a little concession on both sides, the breach might be healed.

I was in this frame of mind when the annual meeting of the Alliance occurred in Manchester, on the 24th of October. On that day I had a conversation with the Rev. Mr. Yeames, the new R.W.G.T., and also with Mr. Kempster, the Grand Worthy Counsellor of the English Order. I told both of them that I had come to the conclusion that they were wrong; and, having in view the meeting of the Grand Lodge in Manchester on the following day, I said to Mr. Kempster, "I don't see why we may not be members of both Orders." He

shook his head, and said, "That cannot be," or words to that effect. I shook my head too, and at once made up my mind that if I were compelled to make a choice, it must be in harmony with my convictions. The day following I went to the Grand Lodge presided over by Col. Hickman, and on the Thursday following, after reading the scurrilous articles in the *Watchword*, I consented to accept office.

What strange inconsistencies there are in humanity! Here we have the most boundless enthusiasm on behalf of the rights of the Negro, human equality, and the general rights of man. It is blazoned forth that the Order is open to all, and that this is its great glory. Is it? It may be wide enough to embrace the man with the black skin, but it is not wide enough to include the man with the wrong colour of mind, if he happens to differ from the powers that be—so we have found it.

If the reader doubt what I say, let him turn up the *Watchword* of November 15th, page 770, and he will find the following resolution of the Grand Lodge Executive:—

It is therefore resolved, That all members who give allegiance to Col. Hickman or his supporters thereby cease to be members of the Order; and any lodge which gives allegiance to Col. Hickman, or admits or retains in membership such supporters thereby forfeits its charter.

Two or three good friends, who side with Mr. Malins on the Negro question, have kindly written to me expressing their regret that I have not remained in connection with the I.O.G.T., presided over by Mr. Malins, until the meeting of Grand Lodge. My answer to them is, I had intended to have done this, as I intimated to Mr. Kempster, but I could not do it when it involved the sacrifice of my liberty and of my conscience; and not being willing to sacrifice these precious heritages, they have excluded me, along with others, from their Order.

It will be a question that the members of the Order which has Mr. Malins at its head, will need to ask themselves—Is there any law to protect the consciences and rights of the members, to secure to them a trial according to the laws of the Order, or are they to be subject to a summary expulsion by those who are at the head of the Order, and that, too, without even the semblance of a trial? If I understand the laws of the Order at all, a member cannot be expelled until he has been first tried by the subordinate Lodge of which he is a member, and then, if either side thinks justice has not been done, they can appeal to a higher court. But, according to law, that is the court in which a member must be first tried before any other court can take cognisance of him. As it is, the heads of the Order issue ukases of expulsion as though they were the Imperial Autocrats of some despotic monarchy.

I may say, too, that if I understand the functions of the rulers of the I.O.G.T., it is to execute the laws, and not to supersede them. They are an executive, and not a legislative body. Their province is to carry out the law, and see that others carry out the law also; but if these gentlemen are to be at liberty to hoist the standard of rebellion, and then, because others will not follow them in their rebellious

course, to cut them off by the passing of a resolution, there is an end of both law and liberty. And yet they do this in the name of freedom and liberty.

I have read of many remarkable deeds in history, but, I confess, I never read or heard of anything to match the doings of those who are at the head of this secession.

Let the reader try to realise the picture.

Here are a number of persons whose avowed sympathies for freedom, liberty, the rights of man, universal brotherhood, &c., are so strong, that when they learned that in some of the Southern States of America the blacks were not enrolled in the I.O.G.T., they could not endure it, and because their plan for the rectification of this matter—demanded in a most unconstitutional and repulsive manner—was not at once conceded, they hoist the standard of rebellion. Their motto is "*Liberty, universal brotherhood, equal rights of man, &c.*," and so overwhelming is their desire, very commendable in itself, to extend these principles to the Negroes in the South, and to show their detestation of whatever savours of caste and tyranny, that they immediately send off a missionary to these coloured ones who have not been permitted the benefits of the Order.

Well, there are coloured people, and coloured people. Some people differ in the colour of their skin, whilst others differ in the colour of their minds. In the South, the colour of the skin is the great obstacle to people being allowed to enter the Order; but in England, the colour of the mind is the barrier. It matters not how much the colour of a man's skin differs from that of Bro. Malins and his party, he is thoroughly welcome to all the privileges of the Order; but when it comes to be a question of mind, it is a different thing. If he be not of the right colour—that is, the same colour with themselves—he cannot be admitted into the Order. Nay, if he be in, and has done ever such good service and is ready to go on with his work, he is shut out; and if his good brethren who know him and love him, try to retain him they are bundled after him.

And yet these are the men who have proclaimed themselves the apostles and champions of universal brotherhood, equal rights of man, freedom, and liberty.

OH! LIBERTY! WHAT DEEDS ARE PERPETRATED IN THY NAME.

In the discussion of this question there has been a great tendency to wander from the point; and, therefore, in order that those who see proper to notice these remarks may not mistake my points and run away from the question, I will give a brief recapitulation of them.

1. The principles and practices of the R.W.G.L. have always been in harmony with the rights of man principle and the universality of the brotherhood of man; and hence those who have raised this issue as a reason for seceding from the R.W.G.L. have placed an incorrect issue before the world.

2. That the supreme powers accorded to Grand Lodges by the constitution giving them control over the internal affairs in their own States and jurisdictions, and the further fact that the constitution

did not allow of the creation of duplicate Grand Lodges, rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the R.W.G.L. to deal with offending Grand Lodges. Hence the blame of exclusion rests with the Grand Lodges, and not with the R.W.G.L.

3. That the passing of Judge Black's amendment by the R.W.G.L., so altered the constitution as to make it legal to create duplicate Grand Lodges in any State or country wherever they so desired it, and thereby removed the one great barrier to the enrolment of the Negroes.

4. That the passage of this amendment (Judge Black's) was strenuously opposed by the British representatives at Bloomington, and in consequence of this opposition, its application was restricted to two States only—North Carolina and Maryland—whilst the Negroes in the other States were by the action thus taken deprived of its benefits.

5. That the resignations of Messrs. Malins and Gladstone were not tendered in the interest of the Negro, but as a protest against duplicate Grand Lodges; this is shown by the notice of motion which they placed upon the books, for it was not to benefit the Negro, but to stop duplicate Grand Lodges that this notice was given, and it was by their action at Bloomington that the formation of dual Grand Lodges was suspended for another year in all the Negro States, except two.

6. That, whilst the British representatives thus blocked the way of measures introduced into the R.W.G.L. which would have benefited the Negro, they themselves, prior to the issue of their ultimatum, never submitted any definite proposition that was at all calculated, or apparently intended, to relieve the Negro.

7. That the propositions which they submitted in the form of their ultimatum were presented in an unconstitutional manner, inasmuch as they proposed to introduce vital changes into the constitution, which, according to the laws of the Order, could not be introduced without a year's notice, and no such notice had been given.

8. That the proposals submitted by the British representatives at Louisville, being the first definite proposals they ever submitted to the R.W.G.L., and being presented in the objectionable form of an ultimatum; and being moreover, introduced in an unconstitutional manner, was insulting to the R.W.G.L., lowering to the dignity of the Order in this country, and, further, made it extremely difficult for the R.W.G.L. to approach the question with due respect to themselves and to the Order generally.

9. That the proposition which the British representatives submitted to the R.W.G.L. at Louisville was not the same as that which they had submitted to the Grand Lodge at Newcastle, but one which had been interpolated, and in which there had been fundamental changes made, and the strong probability is, that had they adhered to the resolution submitted by them to the G.L. at Newcastle, the present disruption would not have occurred; and, further, the privileges of the Order would have been sacred to the Negro.

10. That the portion of the proposition submitted at Louisville, which proved to be so highly objectionable to the R.W.G.L., and which they found it impossible to entertain, was the portion which had been interpolated after the resolution left the Grand Lodge at Newcastle.

11. That, having regard to the interests of the Negro, the equal rights of man, and the establishment of a fraternal brotherhood among the nations of the world, and especially in the Southern States of America, the action of the British representatives is one to be regretted, as it is calculated to prevent this brotherhood of the races, by increasing the irritation of feeling in the South, and thus lessening the prospects of that unity which is so much to be desired, and in this way postpone the realisation of the objects which we all so anxiously desire.

The thing that has grieved me most in this dispute has been the spirit of slander which has prevailed, and which has developed itself mainly against our American brethren. It has really been awful. It has been bad enough for our officials in this country to proclaim rebellion against the R.W.G.L. upon such an unfounded pretext, but to use the language which they have done against the head of the Order and others, is wholly at variance both with the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of our Order. Those who do this ought to tear from their banner the motto of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which is the boast, and ought to be the practice of our Order, especially of its officials.

And now I have finished my unpleasant task. In executing it I have been careful to refer only to official documents or authorities, and I have sought to avoid personalities, insinuations, or imputation of motives. I have aimed to be faithful to the truth, and I now leave the matter in the hands of the members of the Order, praying that the dark cloud which is hanging over our Order may soon be dispelled by the light of truth, and that this grievous schism may be overruled to the good of the movement, and the welfare of humanity.